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Chapter 4

The Island that was not there: Producing Corelli's Island, Staging Kefalonia

Mike Crang and Penny Travlou

Introduction:

This chapter will focus upon the contested practices and imaginations of one island whose tourist market is markedly divided between an upmarket north and mass market south. In the midst of this tense clash of tastes, the island was the setting for the book and the film of Captain Corelli's mandolin. So this chapter moves between the Louis de Bernières' book *Captain Corelli's Mandolin* (1997), the Miramax film of the book (released 2001) and the touristic experience of the island. In the year after the release of the film visitor numbers from the UK to the island, who form some 87% of those arriving by plane, rose by 22% and 10% again the year following, more strongly than growth in visitors from other countries, and growing more rapidly than British tourism to Greece in general (Hudson and Ritchie 2006: 263-4). It was by all accounts a classic case of movie driving up the popularity of a destination. This has set in play competing and complementary imaginaries of the island as landscape and beach resort – and what such beaches should be used for. Hosting the (so-called) most photographed beach in Greece, alongside beaches, or always 'coves', labelled as 'romantic' via the movie, alongside mass tourism infrastructure the chapter unpacks the production of the beach and scenery for tourists. Not least here we want to highlight the different Kefalonias imagined and those lost and found, those unobtainable and those haunting the Ionian.

An island lost in the myths of time

"On an island untouched by time" intones the gravely baritone in the first words of the trailer for Captain Corelli's Mandolin, brief scenes of beaches and fishing coves and barefooted women on the sand and then followed by the speeding sequence of war planes flying over

and troops marching ‘in a world divided by war’, as Italian troops march past Captain Corelli (Nicholas Cage) leading his unit calls out “Bella Bambina 2 o’clock and leads the salute to Pelagia (Penelope Cruz), ‘ a stranger came into their lives’ adds the narration. We shall not tarry over each scene, but here we find the film quickly setting the island of Kefalonia as a pristine, edenic land – out of time, out of the political world into which events roughly intrude. This is clearly a replayed scenario of so many island fantasies. But it is also one that resonates most strongly with the Greek Ionian pitched in terms of Otherness to modern Europe.

As Tzanelli notes ‘Greece has been more an imagined topos than an actual place for prosperous foreigners since the birth of classicism’ (Tzanelli 2003: 21). Originally this focused upon the role of ancient Greece as progenitor and originary mythic place for European, Western civilization. But in those visits and studies increasing concern was then paid to the neo-Hellenes, the modern Greeks – portrayed by contrast as oriental interlopers; so the imagined superiority of ancient western Greece could be revealed in the economic inferiority of the contemporary Greek peasantry or indeed in the case of Van Lennep’s *Oriental Album* writing in the 1860s Greek culture is assigned to Ottoman and Oriental categories ‘it revolves around the typical oriental themes of exhibition and colourfulness’ (Tzanelli 2003: 22). However, there certainly was a more celebratory if patronising subtone focused upon the rural peasantry, celebrated for their earthy if simplistic culture – seen as pure and authentic as opposed to hybridized. Accounts reveal partly an inevitable fascination with the inaccessibility of Greek women for observation and focus upon ‘gestures, posture and mannerism – *neo-Hellenic habitus*’ (Tzanelli 2003: 40). This is part of a piece with a rising romantic celebration of timeless folk culture, clashing with the linear evolutionary temporality seen in developmental models. Such temporalities map onto an urban rural divide

‘Urban time emulated western progressive time unsuccessfully, whereas the rural was almost static. Greek rural culture was burdened by a famous past, which was preserved *unconsciously* in popular beliefs. Contrariwise, there was a violent historical disruption in urban modes of thought.’ (Tzanelli 2003: 43)

If this trope is clearly being tapped into by the movie, it contrasts with the novel whose main strand includes precisely a layered historical sensibility embodied in the figure of Dr Ioannis and his incomplete manuscript for a 'New History of Cephallonia'. Through this textual vehicle, de Bernière is able to provide a meta-history of the island in the novel. Here is a history that is anything but uneventful, and is rather written as though the island were endlessly buffeted by the winds of geopolitical conflict – from ancient times, through the Venetian empire to Ottoman domination and British imperialism. It provides a cataclysmic history of disasters and explosions, of opposite outcomes of good intentions, sceptical of metanarratives (Sheppard 2002). But within it there is also a clear sense of a replication of the stereotypes of Ionian culture produced through the British colonial moment and its ethnologies – offering a romantic folk type.

Yet the novel can clearly play more upon this setting, where it ironises other Ioniaian myths – notably the Odyssey Parody of Odyssey for where faithful Penelope stitches at home by day and undoes her work at night, Pelagia ends up unstitching her work and growing cooler to her suitor; Mandros away fighting a war, returns and only recognised by the pine marten (as in the dog who recognises Odysseus in the Odyssey) but then Odysseus left his sailor with the rotting leg whereas Mandros returns with a rotting foot (Sheppard 2002). In other words, on a deep level the novel inserts the island in an economy of long circulating stories and images of the island.

As such we might look at the long term envisioning of the Adriatic in things like mid-twentieth century travellers' home movies where in the interwar years 'cinematography – as enthusiasts called their new hobby – was part of the new technological apparatus that, together with locomotives, cruise ships and motor cars, became associated with Mediterranean holidays' (Norris Nicholson 2006: 16) and indeed the staging of a folksy Greek persona in the post war boom in musical dramas (Papadimitrou 2000). The Greek island thus has a long popular and academic history as a space of constructed visibility. Thus when Tzanelli (2003) points out the book and film both refigure the island but also incite a desire to visit or explore that island, they are doing so as part of the ongoing discourse of Greekness, Mediterranean-ness and indeed the nature of holidays. One important reflection here then is going to be between book and site, between imagination and

representations as we see these imaginaries play out. There has been a small boom in work examining the intersection of film depictions and locations and tourism. Much of it started from a concern to measure the possible impacts of films upon visitor numbers (e.g. Tooke and Baker 1996; Riley, Baker et al. 1998) and indeed there has developed a small industry of conventions and promoters seeking to attract films to use locations as a place marketing tool (Hudson and Ritchie 2006). The media coverage is not restricted to cinematic films (witness for instance the reported boom in ‘Toddler-tourism to the village of Tobermory on the Island of Mull after it was used for the setting of the popular pre-school show *Balamory*’ (Connell 2005). Pretty rapidly though three sets of issues emerge in the literature. Perhaps first, is that of the malleability of location, second the multiplicity of motivations.

On the first, it is very quickly apparent that destinations linked to films or media can be plural. We have case where the original book or similar may use a real setting, and then the film choose to use a different location to represent that. Thus in the Mediterranean, the film *Troy* has been credited with a boom in visitors to Malta – where the movie was shot. Of course the original setting may be fictional and the film has then to use a real setting to stand for that – perhaps most famously with the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy, where Aoteoroa came to stand for the imagined Middle Earth itself fused from the refracted Celtic imaginary of English myth. Yet that is also far too simple, for there may well multiple original locations (say for Jane Austen’s settings which were amalgams inspired by several country houses) and these in turn may well be represented by fragmented settings (where one location is used for interiors, another for exteriors) in ways that can jump-cut time and space (Crang 2003) where for instance Harry Potter tourism now extends an arc of 300 miles to cover the key locations marketing themselves as locations in the film, or where tourist trails for ‘Inspector Morse’ deliberately stage some of the impossible entrances and exits that teleport the detective across town, entering one site to be seen emerging from another. Meanwhile more evergreen stories may appear in multiple media using multiple locations over time. Moreover, multiple different stories can blur through the use of the same area. And last but not least, it is entirely possible for tourists to mistake the location entirely and visit somewhere else convinced it is related to a film or story. The point is in

some ways banal, though in terms of the layered and contestible meanings less so, but it is important. One reason for the focus of this study was that book and film location coincided on the island of Kefalonia – though up the end, so the local story goes, the film was nearly shot on Corfu.

The second complicating factor tends to be taken as the extent of motivation that the film supplies for different tourists. Thus a number of writers have quickly divided up movie tourists into those we might call ‘happenstance’ – they happen to be there and thus show an interest, through to the ‘generally aware’ who show a specific interest, thence to the more and more committed who travel specifically motivated to see things about that film overlaid on which are the different motivations afforded by the film be they plot related, personality related (the stars etc) or place related (the scenery) (Macionis 2004). Quite crucially for our story here, the reviews of *Captain Corelli* tended to respond ‘the Island is the Star’, and one suggested it turned ‘Cephalonian nature into the principal actor of the story’ (Hudson and Ritchie 2006: 265) or rather more acidly one suggested that the landscape was also called the second great actor after Cruz’s eyes, and ‘all those sun-drenched shots of white beaches and "colourful" villagers will do wonders for the Cephalonian tourist industry’ (*The Daily Information* 4 Apr 2001). Clearly movies where the place features more strongly should exert a stronger pull to tourists. The academic studies then tend to work to develop typologies and scales of motivations in more refined details – connecting typologies of visitor motivation between films and literature and so forth (Busby and Klug 2002). However, only rarely do they consider the affective qualities of the image (Kim and Richardson 2003) – it tends to be treated simply as product placement, where merely seeing the destination is enough, rather than thinking through the registers of affection or desire through which it is attended.

Meanwhile on the other side of theoretical work is a range of social theoretical statements that seek to connect to theories have argued that tourism necessarily ‘spectacularises’ destinations or creates ‘myths’ about them. John Urry’s (1990) Foucauldian notion of tourist gaze, that shapes perceptions of the landscape has been enormously influential. Put over-simply, critical approaches suggests a vicious hermeneutic circle where marketing or films create a desirable image, which tourists then reproduce in their own pictures and memories (Crang 1997). Thus people do not see the

landscape but rather see it as filtered through media led expectations they then confirm. These all highlight how media inscribe meaning onto places with representations and texts acting as signifiers and markers of things which tourists should travel to see. The double edged issue is that media are seen not only investing places with meaning but also limiting them to a script, reducing them to simplified images - that can be captured and reproduced - where culture is formatted for easy transport as 6"x8" pieces of glossy paper. The result is a reduced but parallel vision of landscape through both media and tourism (Acland 1998). Thus the indexing of places to cinematic images - often leads to disappointment or anti-climax as sites do not have single or original meanings and moreover tends to homogenize the viewed 'other' and only allow heterogeneity to us - they are unproblematically represented as mirrored on screen (Galani-Moutafi 2000: 213, 219). There is then in this critical view a connection between hegemonic ways of seeing the world encoded in both visual media (especially film and television) and tourism as being increasingly intertwined forms of spatial appropriation (Jansson 2002), and these ways of seeing are often suggested to distance people from the world rather than engage them via other affective registers. In Jansson's terms they are antagonistic modes of appropriation, that set us apart from the landscape viewed as part of a 'tourism phantasmagoria' generated through tourism imagery. Jansson suggest disentangling more sympathetic modes of appropriation and indeed context appropriations (focused on activities where the place is more incidental). But in this paper we focus rather more upon the phantasm - asking about the substantiality of Corelli and the imagery itself.

Anticipating Captain Corelli's Island

An analysis of UK based brochures for the Mediterranean show pictures dominated by blues and whites, and in the Greek sections and those on the Ionian islands, or under 'ideal for couples', romantic destinations and family destinations the introductory pieces on Kefalonia mobilize a common set of tropes:

"Castaway Kefalonia - the island of Captain Corelli fame" (Thomson 2005)

“As fans of Captain Corelli's Mandolin will undoubtedly know, Kefalonia consists of peaceful bays, tiny hillside villages, sleepy harbours and, also, some wonderful beach resorts” MyTravel 2005

“Kefalonia is a haven for beach lovers with its sand and shingle coves, sheltered bays and inlets. ... still relatively new to mass tourism, although it has become famous due to the success of the book and film ‘Captain Corelli's Mandolin’ ... Sami ‘if you want a quick preview see the movie ‘Captain Corelli's Mandolin’ that was filmed here” Thomas Cook 2005

“The setting for the romantic story of Captain Corelli's Mandolin, this mountainous isle is the largest of the Ionian cluster. Cliffs and caves, picturesque little ports, sleepy villages in herb scented hills, and beautiful beaches – some with watersports, all combine to create the perfect place and space to chill, unwind or enjoy a family holiday. The old Greece with modern comforts” Airtours 2006.

Of course any study of brochures has to set that in context of the dominance of the pages by pictures and details of pretty standardized accommodation (Dann 1996), and here each ‘destination’ is an island and within it a number of resorts mean that you have a pattern of 1 page setting the scene for the island then 4-5 pages of accommodation. So the sense of the destination here blurs from Greece to an Island, to a specific resort. In that context Kefalonia though is notable for the scenic and landscape descriptions that are often entirely absent from other destinations. The island truly is the star. And it is the star in the living room before arrival – it is even, as Thomas Cook, say possible to preview your trip via the movie. While when the movie was released Greek specialists tour operator Kosmar and East Midland Airport took 90 Midland travel agents to a special showing of the movie in order to promote the destination (Hudson and Ritchie 2006: 263).

The island of the movie thus wraps over the island of the tourist imagery. But the touristic imagery also already enfolds the movie. Thus the stunning beauty of the island, as mentioned above, is one of the main tropes in otherwise pretty dire reviews for the film. Thus the *New York Times* review (2001) is a virtual paean to the island as a visual spectacle and visual spectacle as part of tourism:

‘If you've been longing to visit the Greek islands but haven't the time or money to make the journey, you could do worse than spend a couple of hours soaking up the scenery in "Captain Corelli's Mandolin." Filmed largely on Cephalonia, ... the movie shimmers with a bluish-gold luminescence reflected from the turquoise waters of the Ionian Sea. This light lends the craggy landscape a hot coppery radiance that seems to emanate from inside the earth. Cinematographically (John Toll supervised), the movie is a glorious ode to the sun-baked island on which it was filmed’

Here the power of visual imagery is clearly aligned with an assumed connection with tourism. A similar connection is highlighted in *Entertainment Weekly* (2001) whose review opened with the deliberate commentary on the island as tourist destination: ‘Sunlight kisses the Greek island of Cephalonia so tenderly in *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*, you'll want to book your next vacation there. In fact, this ad-agency-like adaptation of Louis De Bernières' 1994 book-club favorite turns the historical novel into a travel brochure’. Here then we start to see the folding back of tourist imagery into the movie – now as a critique, that this is too simply replaying clichés of tourist visualisation. Thus it points out the positioning of locals as folk colour where ‘the Greek townsfolk in this history-inspired story glow with ethnic pride. Then they dance. Life is hard but photogenic’, before finally decrying the lack of depth as related to touristic aesthetics ‘the passion between Corelli and his Pelagia is indistinguishable from the affection the captain demonstrates for his mandolin. On this island, theirs is a tourist kind of love’. Channel 4's final verdict was ‘A fine holiday ad but a rather dull movie’. A similar line, though more trenchantly put, can be found where the world socialist website reviewer Richard Phillips indeed used the scenic qualities to dismiss the movie as ‘touristic’:

‘Madden has produced a two-hour picture postcard of Cephalonia's winding hillside tracks, pretty villages, golden beaches and turquoise blue seas. The film, which has apparently boosted tourist visits to the island since its release, provides viewers with little understanding of the period. No effort is made to explore the political and emotional motivations of the film's protagonists’

Here image is seen to be covering historical narrative and contention. What is repeatedly remarked upon as unsettling this visual feast of the Mediterranean pastoral is the sound of the of it. Not to be sure the opera led score, but rather the creation of what Peter Preston in the *Observer* (6th

May 2001) called a fused ‘zorbaspak’ of ‘eastern med esperanto’, and Peter Bradshaw for *the Guardian* (4th May 2001) decided made for a light ‘holiday romance with silly voices on the beautiful sun-kissed island of Cephallonia’

Thus we have the damning of the movie for being touristic and the scenery read through as picture postcard encoded tourist imagery. The film does not escape its island. Likewise the assumptions are that this will automatically play into producing increased visitor numbers. So the question this raises is how the imagery thus from the film connects with the tourist aesthetic and the practice of the tourist gaze on the island. And to do so we wish to turn to perhaps the most iconic site on the island

The Beach

Kefalonia itself trades upon a beach that has become delocalized by its ubiquity. Regularly appearing as ‘the beach’ in national campaigns is Myrtos beach. Delocalised in that it appears unnamed and unspecified, and appears in a different view than it does when it was used for the Italian officers’ picnic scene in the movie. The conventional shots taken from above and to the North show a squarish bay between massive cliffs in which circulates eye-wateringly blue sea, stirring plumes of milky white sediment before lapping on a blisteringly white beach. While the image is used nationally and ubiquitously in terms of visiting the island it is simultaneously and repeatedly inscribed in place, with signposts for car hire outside the airport using the beach as the symbol of the island, and more prosaically road signs greeting travelers with the announcement of the impending approach to ‘The famous Greek beach’ at a mere 25km or so distance. Indeed then the road is set up with a special viewing point from which you may view the (famous) view of the (famous) beach – safely 5km travel from getting your toes wet, and as a platform now rather safer than simply stopping on a blind bend rounding a mountain spur, though many, more or less, happily strolled across that road each day. And if you hang around that view point, as we did, taking say hour long samples, in

an hour you might expect to see 18 groups of people stop, including 2 coach parties, but never more than 2 at a time thanks to the careful scheduling of different companies, for an average of 4 minutes for independent travelers and a little longer for coaches to allow for disembarking and re-embarking. Those who actually went to the beach would often concur with many guidebooks that the physical experience was an anticlimax since the white turns out to be sharp gravel and the milky plumes show the dangerous rip currents that often stop bathing. Although in high summer the switchback road down to the beach is still often jammed full of parked cars. It seems an almost text book example of an image being promoted and then consumed by tourists.

And yet being a successful tourist is not so simple as this reading of the signs might imply. As people sat on the viewing platform, they could indeed marvel at the view – and who would not. They would also comment on being there to get ‘the view’ that they knew they had to have, with a degree of self-awareness that this was ‘the picture’ they were meant to take. As the guide on one party we traveled with put it – we did not need to worry because the bus would stop in exactly the best location to let you get ‘that picture’, but please try not to get run over. An injunction to get the picture, with which they and others were largely happy to comply – save some anxieties for those without an authoritative guide, that this was indeed the best point from which to do gain ‘the picture’. Those that stopped at the viewing point would then look around and move off, possibly pausing only to walk round the spur to take an equally stunning view north towards Assos.

To situate this viewpoint we might look at the range of visualizations of the island we can also turn to the humble resort map in the brochures which is helpfully outlined with parasols for major beaches is then divided into lively and quiet resorts, which follow a roughly North South divide. As the *Daily Telegraph* put it ‘Sand is common, but pebbles keep things posh... [in the North there are] women in bikinis (no thongs here), sarongs and sandals’ (*Daily Telegraph* 18th August 2001). Myrtos is firmly in the Northern side of the divide. And of course this chimes with how Greece plays on the myth of the untouched Edenic beach (Lencek and Bosker 1998) in its publicity. Empty and populated

only by the occasional couple the Greek beach of the posters and brochures offers a chance to ‘live the myth’ of romantic solitude – to adapt the GNTOs 2005 campaign phrase).

By contrast the ‘long’ and ‘wide’ beaches (Makri Gyalos) of Lassi found their soft sand densely filled. Here the beach based tourists congregated with beach bars and the like. Such resorts have been characterised as part of the European ‘space that has become the most effective substitute for the time of the breaking-up party, that countryside festival that industrialisation eliminated from the calendar of Europeans’ where British tourists ‘give free rein to their true desires, which are none other than making their holidays into a string of Friday nights in their pubs and Saturday mornings in the sunny Mediterranean... without there being the slightest hint of the pretension of getting to know other countries and other cultures.’ (MVRDV 2000: 107, 117). In this context Galani-Moutafi (2000: 210) notes somewhat acidly of current tourist trends to Greece, that current tourists seek less cultural outlets and more stimulation of the senses – reflected in a tourism marketing imagery mix of sandy beaches, retsina, ouzo, bouzouki and syrtaki dance capped by the Parthenon. He suggests this is a postmodern tourism which reaches out to affect the audience through immediacy not aesthetic categories

In the discourse of the brochure ‘romantic’ here stands in opposition to ‘lively’, with both being readable through a class sensibility. Thus Mytros, even in its high season crowds was set apart by the image, from so far back figures on the beach blurred, and by the need for cars to visit it and the shingle framing the affordance of the beach. Here class seems writ not only the aesthetics of looking at the beach but the corporeal ways of being upon the beach, through the proximal sensate world of being on the beach, inhabiting the beach as much as the distal world of visual imagery (Obrador-Pons 2007). While it is usual to depict the classes as separated by the more bodily engagement of popular practice this is to misread the simply different haptic practices. It is not here a question of seeking the unspoilt as a marker of class distinction and taste, though that is reflected in the commentary – that seeks to position some as ‘*turistas vulgaris*’ (Löfgren 1999: 264) who travel in ‘herds’, ‘stampede’ onto beaches, ‘flock’ to see places, and ‘swarm’ around ‘honey-pots’ – nor is this simply a matter then of quests for the next untouched each, despite the isolation promised in the imagery but often not

delivered on the island (Crang 2004). In line with the book and the moving it is a more middle brow aesthetic and affordance. More mixed and more fragmented. Thus there are more or less knowing performances of the obvious in terms of pictures taken. There is togetherness on beaches and then there are moments of quiet.

Losing Corelli and Evading the Cinematic Gaze

So how does one visit Corelli's Island through this visual and haptic economy? While at one level one cannot avoid arriving there – when tour reps have to watch the movie as part of their induction, and following the framing in the guides and brochures. And yet what does arriving there mean? One can find the island one would think on the bus tour helpfully labelled 'Corelli's tours'. And yet that is the same as most others labelled 'island tours'. What is perhaps remarkable is the absence of Corelli's island in two registers – both directly through the movie and secondly the island out of time the movie depicts. To begin with thinking about the former there is a deliberate relative absence of Corelli from the explicit tourist marketing *on* the island. Thus as one British resident writing a review for *the Times* (7th August 2007) commented in general:

‘The film was good for Cephalonia. Although the critics panned it, it was a showcase for the island's scenery and boosted tourist numbers.

And in looking at recent marketing and development she concludes:

the island that is the star of those enticing Greek travel posters... The response to the film of Captain Corelli's Mandolin, which was made here was a good yardstick of the Cephalonian mindset. On some islands the film would have taken over, but there is only one small restaurant near Sami called Captain Corelli's, and that's where the actors and film crew used to eat.

Indeed to be pedantic there are two such cafés though owned by the same person. Indeed his renaming them was the cause of debate. At first it was an example picked upon in many travel articles

to suggest a Correlli-mania was sweeping the island in 2001-2. For the locals this notion of themed sites represented something of a trap, and one with which they wrestled then and since. Many worried that branding in this way was counter productive, with a villa holidays specialist being quick to comment of her friend's Captain Corelli's café that she had warned him 'My clients would frankly avoid it' as kitsch and being 'too obvious'. Indeed, tourists too often singled out the Café for opprobrium with comments such as 'Captain Corelli's café – yeah too obviously a tourist trap'. And this resistance is shared by de Bernières himself

A good friend of mine ... who runs a cafe in Fiskardo, likes to tell me that I have ruined his island. He is only half serious, I hope, but it is a thing that worries me none the less. I was very displeased to see that a bar in Aghia Efimia has abandoned its perfectly good Greek name, and renamed itself 'Captain Corelli's', and I dread the idea that sooner or later there might be captain Corelli Tours or Pelagia Apartments. I would hate it if Cephallonia were to become as bad as Corfu in places, with rashes of vile discotheques, and bad tavernas full of drunken Brits on two-week, swinish binges (de Bernières 2001: 15).

This resistance to marketing was embodied in the way the movie's local legacy was handled through the mayor of the small town of Sami. While many marvelled at the way Old Kefalonia was recreated, he had insisted that all physical traces of the movie should be disassembled and removed – to stop the area being damaged by the production. On site commemoration consisted of to our certain knowledge 3 display boards, each some 2 metres by 1.5metres comprising numerous 15x 25 or so stills from the making of the movie and usefully emblazoned in Greek and English 'Municipality of Sami'. That these boards were cryptic could be judged from the often baffled stance of tourists ambling by, who stopped peered, peered again then ambled away little the wiser. Otherwise the other main relics are indeed representational – with a local photographer in Sami selling stills of the making of the movie, which are syndicated throughout shops in the island, and posters or stills used by businesses, usually to celebrate their (purported) linkage to the making of the movie. Thus one hotel enterprise has signed pictures of Penelope Cruz and director John Madden, to celebrate how it was a base for the movie crew – though not it has to be said Cruz or Madden.

To find the relics of the movie producing Corelli's Island was then not a straightforward task. For the dedicated pilgrim one can find guides and books and specific features on the DVD to enable you to start looking. But without these sources there is nothing much there to guide you, and even with them there is little to confirm that the location is indeed correct. Thus the sequence of Pelagia dancing, which established her charm as well as but of course staging Greek folk life as happy and fully of spontaneous dance led festivals, was shot using a deserted village threshing floor that it is possible to find – with a car, an hour or two of time and some determination. The main locations where the Greek village was built, or the Italian camp, or the capital city have no distinguishing material marks save the signboards. So while there are restaurants or shops that use the movie in billboards, most typically of cage and Cruz in a clinch against the setting of the fishing jetty in a tranquil bay, it is from the cover of the edition of the book generally on sale in the island, there is little beyond that invocation or a romantic place. It mobilised, as perhaps nothing else on the island, the idea of the Romantic and secluded beach.

If we look a bit harder at that example of the Fisherman's cove then we can start to see the process of erasure and active resistance to the branding of Corelli. The cove was on no movie maps. And even when equipped with detailed road maps and a fluent Greek speaker, we ended up in the wrong location – to be regaled by the local goatherd who lived there that they should have used his beach. The fisherman's cove setting is also the only place with a physical relic of the movie – the fishing jetty. That this survived was a testament to local government boundaries being in a different municipality than other sites. Having got lost we found the road sign to the beach on a back road through a small village. Or Penny made out that it was the sign, despite the local graffiti that had obliterated most of the content and replaced it with directions to the new Athens airport. The locals did not wish, as the owners of the beach put it, 'dirty tourists' to mess up their local beach. Written through this, then was a sense of local non-commercial use, but also in terms of location the tourists in question were not coach parties of mass tourists. They were tourists in cars, who might go camping, and were thus predominantly Italians over on the ferries. Meanwhile the municipality had not only kept the jetty, but even maintained it – and as a tourist attraction since it was 'fake' in that being a

film set you could not actually moor boats on it. On this beach, a handful of children from mostly Italian families, who had come by car ferry, played and the occasional boat hired by other tourists moored. Here then the politics of differential possession and mobility changed once more, between the mobile Northern European, the mobile Italian and what *the Times* (without) irony called ‘Britannicus hedonisticus’ (2nd September 2000) that dominated resort beaches in the south and west in the imaginaries of many locals and tourists.

The second erasure of Corelli’s island is the erasure of what it might signify about an authentic and ‘old world’ Greek society. If we might see that one thing beyond simply natural scenery that the movie portrays, then the world it evokes – a world out of time is markedly absent. Studies on Symi (Damer 2004) and Serifos (Terkenli 1999) point to the role of the vernacular architecture in signifying an everyday Greekness to life. In the case of Serifos, then the urban fabric serves to encode a Greek way of life even as the traditional social activities associated with the built forms have been drained from the built up areas. On Symi the celebration of an atypical romantic architecture is used to mark the island off the coast of Turkey as quintessentially Greek – signifying its belonging in the Hellenic ethnos. But the tragedy of the earthquake in 1953, recorded vividly in the novel though not the film of Corelli, largely obliterated the distinctive Kefalonian architecture. Only two buildings were left standing in the capital, and now tours are run to the Northern village of Fiskardo that ‘miraculously’ survived. For the film then one drawback on the island was the absence of actual scenery to use – it all had to be built. One advantage is the large number of deserted villages and locations in the mountains, as after the earthquake villages were rebuilt on coastal sites. If tourists are drawn to the built forms of elegant Venetian influenced townscapes – they will be disappointed by their absence.

For the islanders themselves then there is not quite the sense of continuous history, nor the competition for power through social memory in preserving built forms (Herzfeld 1991) or the selective preservation of elite dwellings (Damer 2004). There is a traumatic break in the fabric of memory. Indeed Dr. Ionides Brief history of Cephallonia’s focus on the gales and tempests of events presages the traumatic times of occupation, civil war and natural disaster in the novel. The novel itself

stirred unsettled and angry arguments on the island over the occupation and more so the civil war. De Bernières' depiction of singing and laughing Italians, versus the German iron military is not regarded as generally representative of the harsh times of the war. In terms of formal monuments to the period, the Italian occupiers, the Aqui division, who were massacred are commemorated by a small monument, set outside the capital. The politics of memory are complicated and convoluted. In a study of Kalymnos, Sutton argued that such memories, traditions and histories played different roles in fashioning and forging notions of local identity (Sutton 1998). Our aim here is not an ethnography of local memory but rather a sense that the history here is both present yet physically absent. The film glossed over and the novel stirred troubled stories, which do not have a generally accepted, monovocal account. The period though speaks to an island before the fall – before the earthquake – so that for locals it is something of a land that time has forgotten. The scenography has become something of a hyperreal history where postcards in shops title 'Old Argostoli, Kefalonia' actually show the movie set simulation set in the town of Sami.

The land of Greek folk custom and vernacular architecture though is scarcely evoked in contemporary tourist development. Many tourist related business are wary of speaking of the earthquake – worrying seismic instability is not a great selling point for the island – and as noted the physical fabric is largely destroyed or ruinous, and often located away from the new villages that have become tourist centres. So there is a sense of lost world haunting the island but not one that speaks to many of the visitors. In the tourist village of Skala, perhaps the largest resort on the southern coast, there is a map showing the old village in a guide. It is a photocopied amateur booklet, buried amid the glossy materials on display in kiosks, drawn from memory and hardly a major device in shaping touristic practices.

So for all the clamour and excitement the island of Corelli is hardly there. People may come and seek it, and if they come they can hardly miss it, yet also it is curiously hard to actually find. For locals there is clearly a pride in the movie, both for its depiction of the island but rather than its account of their history the making of the movie is celebrated more as an event in itself in their history. Thus locals retain memorabilia and memories, and the pictures and posters seem as much a

celebration of their part in the movie and the movie was of the island. It does perhaps enhance their already existing determination to preserve the natural scenery and avoid the large and visually intrusive commercial development found on some other islands. For locals it thus represents both a threat of commercialisation and an opportunity for marketing the island for romantic tranquil tourism. It thus becomes a stake in the exchange between sand and shingle, mass and romantic tourism for the island. In this though the book perhaps mediates a sense that the result is not about elite versus mass but variants around the middle brow.

Conclusions:

Captain Corelli and Kefalonia seem at first glance to have all the makings of the tightest of fits in movie related tourism. But in the end Corelli's Island is a phantasm for tourists, locals and academics. For locals the phantasms are multiform, with the spectre of mass tourism often mentioned, while the turbulent past and the loss of the old villages remains for many. Using Derrida's spectral analysis, we could claim that Kefalonia lives through its own ruins where the present landscape is produced out of a process of construction through destruction, through multiple deaths (Wigley 1993: 43; Derrida 1994). There are the ruins from the earthquake haunting the present landscape with architectural traces of a past forever lost and then, there are the ruins of the filmic space representing a reinvented past that returns to the present landscape to haunt it with memories *in absentia*. "Derrida's 'spectral analysis', after all, involves the return of a ghost" (Crang and Travlou 2001: 174).

For visitors, the movie clearly plays off a number of tropes of the romantic island in general, rural folk and Greeks in particular. It fosters and creates a sense of an idyllic love story set out of time. This scripting of the island plays up a set of affordances that speak to the possibilities for a romantic tourist destination. Indeed wedding tourism has become a niche but growing market for the island. Is this directly attributable to the movie? It is hard to find direct links of visitor practice and the movie or book. It is though quite hard to avoid indirect links. What we might find then is rather the book and film are part of a currency where locals and others imagine a tourism appeal to a tourism

that engages not in the carnivalesque, hedonism of many resorts but what Jansson (2002) calls the imaginative hedonism that consists of sublated satisfactions in the symbolic realm, here in terms of romantic scenery. Corelli opens the possibility for people to feel and connect with a romantic sense of a different world, and a sympathetic sense of scenery. It creates an imagined *topos* but one read through the contemporary interests of tourism as much as the historic lens of the movie. People do not seek out the movie but what the movie shows the island offers to tourists. In this sense the film makes Kefalonia stand out from among other Greek islands for offering those possibilities. The film does this rather than the book, since it offers the visualisation of the scenery that potential tourists could not accomplish on their own. For academics, hunting for the example of tight linkage of movie, spectators and visitors like pilgrims then it is also phantasm. The influence is widespread yet modest. Far from being at the extreme end of the typologies of fans travelling to sites, it is more diffuse yet undeniably present in how many relate to the island. The island becomes a space of constructed visibility, one where the tourist visibility of beach and sand, mass tourism and romantic solitude overlaps only partly with a cinematic vision of myth and lost times. Despite the overcoding of book and film on the island, the local response has held a gap between the cinematic and touristic appropriation of the island.

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